

20 July 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR:

1. This memorandum is for information only.
2. Senator Kennedy has stressed the following points of foreign policy in his speeches and public statements over the past 18 months:
 - a. Balance of power is shifting toward Communism.
 - b. Greater U.S. military strength is needed, both as retaliatory power and for use in limited war situations.
 - c. Stronger NATO and other alliances needed.
 - d. America must not give way on Berlin; should continue efforts for a united Germany.
 - e. Eastern Europe should be cultivated further, with aid, trade, exchanges, etc.
 - f. Red Chinese should be included in test-ban agreements, and contacts with them cultivated.
 - g. Capital development, through the Development Loan Fund, should be increased in Asia, Africa, Middle East, and Latin America.
 - h. Stronger Presidential control is needed, along with greater flexibility (e.g., in foreign aid), all in a long-range, better coordinated strategy against Communism.
3. In chronological order, twenty-one statements by Senator Kennedy dating back to February 1959 are summarized as follows (texts or excerpts are attached):

July 16, 1960, Press Conference, Los Angeles:
Welcomes intelligence briefings offered by Eisenhower; denies cabinet commitment to Adlai Stevenson; favors Red China in test-ban agreements.

July 15, 1960, Acceptance Speech at Democratic Natl. Convention:
Balance of power is "shifting;" Communism has advanced further; his "New Frontier" (of challenges, "not ... promises") includes "unsolved problems of peace and war."

July 14, 1960, Signed Article in NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN:
No sacrifice on Berlin; greater U.S. military strength needed; also stronger alliance.

June 17, 1960, Address at Natl. Democratic Club, New York City:
The new President must "stand up to Khrushchev," not merely engage in "kitchen debate."

June 14, 1960, Speech on Foreign Policy in Senate:
Summit failure and U-2 incident show "confusion and indecision;" U.S. lacks "a long-range, coordinated strategy" to meet Soviet determination for world domination; our diplomats are "ill-staffed, ill-prepared, and ill-advised." Outlines 12-point program:

1. Stronger nuclear retaliatory power, with missiles, bases;
2. Regain ability "to intervene effectively and swiftly" in any limited war, anywhere;
3. Rebuild NATO as a military force;
4. Capital development in Asia, Africa, Middle East, and Latin America;
5. Strengthen Latin American relations, economically;
6. "Acceptance" of nationalism and neutralism in Middle East; seek acceptance by Middle East of "the permanence of Israel;" more refugee settlement and regional development;
7. Assist African nationalism, economically, with education and technical aid;
8. Berlin settlement in "a united Germany;" favors DeGaulle and Adenauer suggestions for Soviet "withdrawal;"
9. Cautions against "liberation" of East Europe; favors "slow and careful" programs of aid, trade, tourism, information services, exchanges, and capital development;
10. "Better communications" and contacts with Red China; include Red China in nuclear test-ban talks;
11. Supports "Arms Control Research Institute" for detection and monitoring research;
12. A "stronger America" in science, education, and economy, to support above program.

June 3, 1960, Statement at Salt Lake City:
Denounces Khrushchev's "strident" attack on Eisenhower.

June 2, 1960, Speech before Textile Workers (TWUA), Chicago:
Administration "failure" to meet its international responsibilities, greater than any time since ancient Athens.

- May 31, 1960, Speech at San Francisco:
Answers Nixon on U-2 criticism; denies appeasement; says that Nixon himself had "second thoughts" about U-2.
- May 24, 1960, Press Conference, Newark, New Jersey:
Urges another attempt at Summit conference, "if the conditions are right."
- May 23, 1960, Senate debate with Senator Scott on U-2:
Denies appeasement, denies he urged "apologies" to Khrushchev; repeats that U-2 timing was "indefensible."
- May 11, 1960, Speech at Chestertown, Maryland:
Disagrees with Eisenhower's decision to resume underground tests while Geneva conference is still in progress.
- April 21, 1960, Address at American Society of Newspaper Editors:
On religious issue, opposes "again" sending an Ambassador to Vatican; on foreign-aid funds for birth control, and on relations with Spain, his religion would not affect his views.
- April 3, 1960, Public Letter to President Eisenhower:
Pledges that he would carry out small-scale nuclear-test moratorium extending beyond Eisenhower's term of office.
- March 7, 1960, Address at University of New Hampshire:
Supports international control and inspection of arms, and proposes a new U.S. agency, "Arms Control Research Institute."
- February 29, 1960, Speech in Senate on Missile Gap & National Defense:
Calls for 3-point program to strengthen U.S. military posture for diplomatic negotiation: (1) more funds to SAC, as "our chief deterrent;" (2) step up Polaris, Minuteman, etc.; and (3) improve conventional forces.
- January 14, 1960, Address at National Press Club:
Calls for stronger Presidency to handle foreign problems of the "Grand Alliance."
- July 17, 1959, Interview by Prof. J. M. Burns, at Hyannisport:
Conventional weapons and forces need strengthening; predicts that Africa will hold balance of power; stronger economic relations with Latin America and India; "more intimate" relations with Poland; favors "discussing" George Kennan's "disengagement" idea; favors "talks" with Red China.
- July 8, 1959, Senate Remarks on Mutual Security Bill:
Favors "Lehman resolution" over Morse's version, to give President more discretion on foreign aid to nations with racial and religious discrimination policies.

May 4, 1959, Address on "U. S. Interest in India":
Favors International Development Loan Fund.

April 15, 1959, Senate Remarks on Battle Act amendment:
Favors giving President greater discretion on aid to satellite
nations.

February 19, 1959, Senate Remarks:
Supports Development Loan Fund, especially for India.

SIGNED

STANLEY J. GROGAN
Assistant to the Director

Enclosures

cc: DDCI
Leg. Coun.